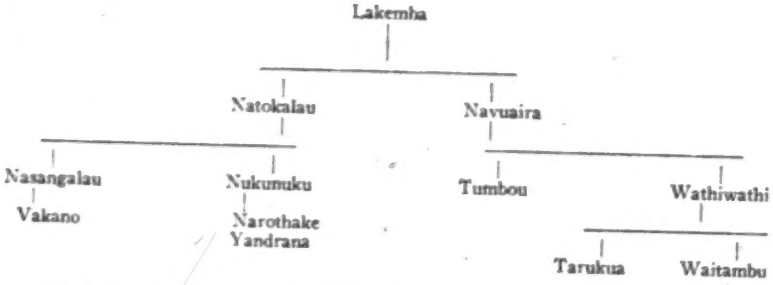
1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows:



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau.

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition.

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side.

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition.

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

KINSHIP

The cross-cousin relationship is the foundation of the kinship system of Lau, and differs in no respect from that usually described as the Fijian system, but which is really that of Mbau and Lomaitivi. If a man is related in any way to another man, he will be related in exactly the same way to that other man's brother, but not to his sister. If he is related in any way to a woman he is related in the same way to that woman's sister, but not to her brother. The Lauan kinship terms are here given:

Kainga. Relation. The Tongan word is *kainga*; the Fijian *veiwekani* is also used, but it also means brother and sister. A frequent term is *veikila*, acquainted, for to know a man and to be related to a man are the same.

Tama. Father. Includes the father's brother, the father's father's brother's son, and so on. Other fathers than the true father are distinguished as little fathers. The term "big father" is not used.

Tina. Mother; also mother's sister, mother's mother's sister's daughter, following the female line. Mothers other than the true mother are called "little mother." The term "big mother" is unknown. A term of address to a mother is *nau*; it is also used as a proper name with the article *ko*; *na tinanggu*, my mother, but *ko nau*, mother.

Luve. Child. The converse of *tama* and *tina*. To designate a brother's child *luve ni tathinggu* is used.

Tuaka. Elder brother of a male, or elder sister of a female; also sometimes used by a man to designate his elder sister; used by the son of a younger brother to designate the son, whether older or younger, of a elder brother.

Tathi. The converse of *tuaka*; a man's younger brother or a woman's younger sister. If not own brothers or sisters *tathi* is applied to the descendant of the younger brother or sister. The term "my little *tathi*" was once used by a woman to designate the descendant of a younger brother. The term *tathi* is sometimes used in speaking of the opposite sex.

Weka. Relatives in general, but more particularly a man's sister, or a woman's brother.

Tuka. Grandfather, and any male ancestor. A great grandfather is *tukanggu vakaru* (my grandfather twice).

Tumbu. Grandmother and any female ancestor.

Makumbu. Grandchild is the converse of *tuka* and *tumbu*. Proper terms for generations below grandchildren, *vuarumbe* for great-grandchildren, and *timbathotho* for great-great-grandchildren rarely used. In conversation people speak of their grandchildren twice, or thrice.

Vungo. The mother's brother and his wife; the father's sister and her husband, wife or husband's father or mother; nephew. It is its own converse and is therefore used by a man to designate his sister's children; by a woman, her brother's children, and so on. A term of address for the mother's brother is *momo*.

Tavale. Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, if the persons related are of the same sex; wife's brother, and husband's sister.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandrana and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines.

The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *wai ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati;* it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave one *fati,* to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last.

While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono,* which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona.* In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono, kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena,* but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona;* in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away.

Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava.

Fijian Kava Ceremony

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used.

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches:

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vativati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wavula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vativati*, four leaves of *vativati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time.

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*):

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and lemon leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

Possession

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Tu umatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

796 272 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle [372 276] usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 527 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than [262] are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

[252 71] In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men, while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana ntchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau ÔQ6
Kambara

and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high. 526

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

Tchingga is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows: [525]

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed),
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!

[539]

The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchinoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other. [578]

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt." 526 171

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

526
[171]

This composite dart (*ulutoa*) is found throughout western Polynesia (6, pp. 102-103). Davidson (6, p. 106) believes it to be of Tongan origin.

VAKATALOLOVO

Vakatalolovo was a game formerly played by young men. It was described by the chief of Kambara as follows:

> A small thatched hut was erected and filled with food. The players lined up with bow and arrows about 11 meters from the hut. They took turns shooting at the hut and the food each player hit became his property. He took it immediately and ate it at the end of the game.

VAKANDOVU

Natives say that *vakandovu* is played today, but I did not witness it. Stalks of sugar cane are piled up and covered with leaves. A group of young men with spears stand about 15 meters away from the pile and each in turn throws his spear at the pile. The cane he hits becomes his property.

JACKSTRAWS

In the game of jackstraws (*fitchi*) there are two or more players. *Ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds or hibiscus stems are cut in pieces about 25 cm. long. They are piled in a heap, and each player in turn lifts off one stick with thumb and third finger. If two sticks move the player loses his turn.

CONTESTS

A *rova*, or race run for a prize consisting of barkcloth, was witnessed at the launching of a canoe on Kambara (p. 184). Informants say that a *rova* is held on Kambara when a new garden is cleared, and that on some islands it is held at the birth of a first-born and at the first visit of a chief to the island.

Informants say that in olden times the *rova* was not customary but contests were held for making baskets (*vetau talikato*), jumping (*vetau vuka*), running (*vetau kanda*), and sailing (*vetau wangga*). On Mothe I witnessed a sailing race in which six canoes participated. The inhabitants of the island gathered on the beach in front of Nasau to witness it.

BOXING

Boxing is called *tukitekau*. According to informants, the hands of the players are wrapped with tapa or cloth from fingers to wrist, leaving the thumb exposed. The players are divided into two teams forming two rows. They are allowed to strike anywhere. Informants say that the purpose of this game is to learn to fight.

[868]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

lighter, and less finished than sailing canoes. They are built quickly without ceremony unless the owner wishes to have a small race (*rova*) at the launching. 501

There are two types of paddling canoes in Lau, the *velovelo* and the *wangga vothe*. The single dugout type called *velovelo* is not often seen. It is more suited to river than to lagoon use. One at Undu, Kambara, consisted of a dugout of *makota* about 6 meters long cut according to the usual canoe hull pattern. It had low washstrakes resembling stringers, 3 primary and 2 secondary booms crossed by 4 stringers, and a short float joined to the booms by 6 pairs of stick connectives, 2 pairs to each primary boom. This type of canoe is used on the rivers of Viti Levu and called *takia*, according to Hornell (16, pp. 304-306). [171]

The built-up dugout type of paddling canoe, called *wangga vothe*, is common in Lau. One in use on Fulanga consisted of a dugout of *makota* 5.75 meters long, washstrakes 15 cm. high, 3 booms, 3 stringers, and a float joined as in the *velovelo*. This type of canoe is called *wangga vakatau* on Viti Levu, according to Hornell (16, pp. 306-307). [171]

DOUBLE CANOES

Sauthoko

The construction of a large, double canoe of the type called *sauthoko* took at least two years and involved elaborate feasts and ceremonies. Only a chief could command the resources and labor necessary to build one. When a Lauan high chief wanted a double canoe built he sent instructions and property to his carpenter on Kambara or another one of the timber islands in southern Lau. The carpenter had charge of the construction of the canoe, and he selected the timber and picked his assistants. A large trunk of greenheart was used for the large canoe, *mbau* for the small one. On the day of felling the tree a great feast called *mangitchi ni vaka mbale* was held in the bush. The series of feasts were *mangitchi ni vanua* (feasts of the land) provided as tribute to the chief by the people of the island. In construction the *sauthoko* resembled a very large *thamakathu* with a small canoe of the same type used instead of a float. The hull was shaped, turned, and hollowed as a sailing canoe is today, except that more labor was involved. The work was done with stone adzes. To hollow the hull first a heavy adz (*vula ono*) was used, then a short handled, thick adz (*i kotchi*), then a lighter adz (*valevatu*). The finishing was done with an adz which could be turned on the haft. 501 396 [412]

While hauling the hull to the shore the men sang rhythmically: [539]

Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!
E nggasi ki sau ina ko unga	Land crab crawls like an old man
Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake.

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *tui* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found.

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers.

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara.

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*)
[751] grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 The illness of Tchiope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, [824] called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word. [171]

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

Namuka (Pl. A, 7 and fig. 11), resembles the rectangular type of stone adze, as does another shell adze found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga (Pl. A, 8 and fig. 12).

Gouges

The collection contains two gouges. Both are fusiform with circular cross-section, similar in form and technique to adzes of the circular type. The bevel is narrow and concave transversely. The edge is curved. Both specimens are pecked and ground. The gouge illustrated in Plate A, 9 was found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga. The other gouge was found on the surface at Velavela, Wangava. It is an unusally long and narrow implement. It measures 335 mm. long and 49 mm. at greatest width. It is composed of basalt and weighs 50 ozs.

Comparisons

The type of cutting-implements which have been described fall clearly into two groups; those with curved cross-section and convex surfaces and those with quadrangular cross-section and a tendency toward flat surfaces and angular margins. For the sake of classification I have called the first group Fijian and the second western-Polynesian. The Fijian group includes the circular and elliptical types, and the western-Polynesian includes the trapezoidal and rectangular types. About two-thirds of the 44 specimens from Lau which were examined fall into the Fijian group, while the remaining third may be classed as western-Polynesian.

Adzes similar to the circular and elliptical types are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Fiji proper and from the Marianas islands. Adzes of the rectangular type also occur in the Marianas collection.[4] Adzes of the elliptical type are common in Melanesia.

Adzes of the quadrangular or western-Polynesian type are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Tonga,

[4]See my "Archaeology of the Marianas islands," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 100, Honolulu, 1932, Plate 6 A (type 1, circular), 6 C (type 2, elliptical), 6 D (type 3, rectangular).

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

171
324
412

Samoa,[5] Rotuma, Tokelau,[6] Futuna,[7] and Uvea,[8] but are absent in the small collection from Fiji proper.

Hence besides the specialization in carpentry, the position of the Lau islands on the border between Polynesia and Melanesia adds interest to a study of the cutting-implements. This marginal position is clearly reflected in the local types of adzes.

[5]See Peter Buck, "Samoan Material Culture," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 75, Honolulu, 1930, Plate 36 C (type 3, rectangular); Plate 37 B and figure 196 (type 6, triangular).

[6]Gordon Macgregor, "Ethnology of Tokelau," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 146, figure 24, 1937.

[7]Edwin G. Burrows, "Ethnology of Futuna," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 138, Plate 5, A and C, 1936.

[8]Edwin G. Burrows, "Ethnology of Uvea," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 145, figure 3, 1937.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

me his *Kalou Vu*—his ancestral god—was a red serpent, and that Vulaga was *Tauvu*—of common origin—with Totoya Island (where snakes are found). So far so good. I then asked him if he knew the name of this *Kalou Vu*. He replied, "His name was that of the Chief of all the Devils, the Blessed Pope!" Thinking that this was rather strong partizanship for even the most ardent Wesleyan, I asked again, and this time he pronounced it a little differently, as "Bilesi Popu." He then said it was well-known in the Bible, and all at once it flashed across me—"Beelzebub."

But here one sees the error one can so easily fall into. This man had, with some confusion, read in his Bible of Beelzebub and also of serpents, and consequently adopted, quite wrongly, this name for the ancient *Kalou Vu* of his race. For I certainly do not think there has yet been discovered surviving among either Papuans or Polynesians any distinct names of the old gods of Asia, although many of the ancient customs of Syrians, Jews, etc., point to a branch of these races having wandered from Asia *via* the Malay Islands to the Pacific. I refer to such things as Circumcision, the legend of the Ark and eight survivors, the legend of the Dove, the legend of the Tower of Babel, the Arab custom of striking the open mouth with the flat hand to denote

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

astonishment, and many others, all of pre-missionary times.[1]

Now, throughout all the following stories there will be seen running a strong thread of clinging belief by the people that "their fathers came from other distant lands." In the first one, "The Haunted Isle of the South Seas," we have the legend that the race came from some islands to the south-east, which seems a very likely thing for the people of southern Lau. In the next one, "South Sea Magic," the *vakadraudrau* witch-craft of northern Lau shows a Papuan ancestry of the men of that part, whereas the "Yalovaki" ordeal is a custom introduced from Samoa. In the "South Sea Symposium" the legends all distinctly show an origin from the south-east, whereas in the story of the "Shark God" the Papuan element again creeps in. Fiji is the meeting-place of two quite distinct types of Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuans" is found. The path of the latter is fairly obvious for a certain distance back, as the island groups, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, are all fairly close to

[1] It has even been suggested that the Malayo-Polynesian races are the "Lost Tribes."

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as far north as old Japan the same sign was used; while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

with woven mat-flooring might with few differences be found in parts of Malay to-day. The out-rigger canoe may seem fairly obvious, yet it was not used among western nations. Mariner, in his immortal book on Tonga, mentioned the veiling of women at a very ancient marriage ceremony which he witnessed there in the early days of the nineteenth century; and there are scores of little things like this that the Polynesian must have unconsciously retained despite his centuries of wandering and separation from his ancestral home. The language question is significant in itself; modes of thought and expression are very much the same, and there are more than a few root words to be found that are purely Malayan.

But enough of such theories, fascinating as they may be to the casual observer. Such things may safely be left in the hands of professional ethnologists. I have merely endeavoured to set down in this book some of the old legends and fairy stories of a people whom, with all their faults, I dearly love, and among whom I have lived and carried on my work for nearly ten years as Commissioner of their District. I take no credit for these tales, which are exactly as told to me by the natives themselves, and are selected from a big book of notes that I have made at odd times during my long residence amongst them. The apparently "biblical" language is

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

773 south-east. This island was said by the Matuku people to be inhabited only by beautiful girls, and to have sweet-singing birds among marvellous trees that bore fruit continually all the year round. (Is this one more survival of the legends of their eastern ancestry—in other words, the "paradise with beautiful houris" that the nations of the East looked forward to?)

This tale of the island Burotu ran north to Bau, and so inflamed that adventurous spirit Ratu Mara[1] that, like a knight-errant of old, he started forth and swore he would find Burotu or perish in the attempt. As a matter of fact he did neither, but the story at all events shows how earnestly he believed in it.

[101] Then there is a nearly extinct tribe to this day at Matuku, called the Burotu people, living on the side of the island facing the south-east, and they think that their earliest ancestors came from Burotu.

The spirit island of Bulotu is also said to be seen lying in the south-east, from the mountain-tops of Kadavu Island.

171 773 (And, strangely enough, a Burota[2] of the Tongans is the island of Eua, which again lies to the south-east of Tonga-tabu, indicating a general origin of Tongans and South Lauans from the east and south-east. Mariner asserted that

[1] Half-brother to Cakobau, the last King of Fiji.
[2] The letters R and L in the South Seas are often interchangeable.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

Bulotu lay to the north-west of Tonga (which is the true direction of Fiji), but several Tongans have told me of a rumoured ancient Bulotu at Eua Island, and the Tongans would seem to have more likely come from the east than from the "negroid stock" to the north-west.

Fison[1] gives a legend telling that the Lauan Bulotu was near Nasali, an empty reef near the Tuvana Islands, south of Ono; and how two captured gods nearly prevented the Levuka people reaching Ono, and entirely denied access to Bulotu, chanting,

> "Tuvana inland, Tuvana below
> Nasali is plainly in sight,
> Bulotu, we two are hiding it";

but there the story ended, with the escape of these two gods.

In the course of conversation with an old man of Ono Island I came across a fragment of the continuation of this legend; and on making further enquiries on other visits there I was able to collect enough to piece together the connected story, which received remarkable corroboration from an old man who left Ono many years ago as a child, but still remembers the tale as told him by his grandmother. This is the story as he told it to me, filled in as to certain minor details from the broken legends of the others.

[1] In "Tales from Old Fiji."

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves hardly know the meaning of.

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.